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178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
1648 genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of
the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were
carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the
end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of
Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.

178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities)
made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big
attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" in-
volve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells,
rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet
them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who
would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role
was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent,
now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who
wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.

184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second

178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having

535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more

829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these

● 561 communities consider the possibility of performing these
"games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new
generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders
(generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the tra-
ditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this
attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents,
or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the
"bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

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the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

[128]

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to remain faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification, along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldeia of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

[561]

[619]

Terena

Brazi/SL/

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*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
 563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
 369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
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 563 This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldeia, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldeia Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

*177 Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
 191 to the Terena today, in whatever situation he is found: it
 269 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
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 [561] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas
 [144] more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

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*177 ¹⁹¹ ³⁶⁹ ⁵⁶¹ i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas). *But in the cities,*

*177 ¹⁹¹ ¹⁴² There is no need to emphasize the importance of the Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 ²¹² ⁴⁶⁴ 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a divergent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attainment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we ¹⁴⁶⁵ discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without ³⁶⁹ which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 ⁴⁶¹ ³⁶⁹ ⁵¹¹ While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.) exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldeia to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a